

July 17, 1956

Information in the outline relative to Aubrey W. Williams, described as an official of the Southern Regional Council (not cited), has been verified through Bureau files. u

It is noted that Reverend Robert Hughes, Alabama State Director of the Southern Regional Conference, advised this Bureau on 6-28-55 that Aubrey Williams was no longer a member of the SRC. u (100-273340-28)

Activities with Additional Cited Groups

The June 15, 1932, issue of the "Commonwealth Bulletin," publication of the Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, approved the formation of a committee to aid the college. Williams' name was on the list of committee members. The Commonwealth College has been (Cited by Attorney General). u

On 9-23-46, attended American Crusade to End Lynching, Washington, D. C., sponsored by the National Negro Congress and the Civil Rights Congress, (cited by Attorney General) 9-28-46, "People's Voice; 1-3-47, "Daily Worker." u

December, 1946, presided over meeting of Southern Negro Youth Congress (cited by Attorney General) at Birmingham, Alabama. u

Sponsor, 1947, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (cited by Attorney General) (Records, HCUA). u

Speaker, 1950, before the Association of Internes and Medical Students (cited by HCUA). (12-29-50, "The Evening Star"). u

According to 2-11-56 issue of the "Michigan Chronicle," a weekly Detroit newspaper, Williams was scheduled to speak before a National Lawyers Guild (NLG) Convention, 2-10-56, Detroit, Michigan. The NLG is cited by the HCUA. u

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8808/BJD/SP

Other Pertinent Information

In 1948 was subscriber to the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper.

A pamphlet entitled "What is Happening to Our Civil Rights," described as an address by Williams at Madison Square Garden, New York City on 9-11-47, concerned in part the government's loyalty program. Williams defended the right of any communist to maintain his position as a government employee.

Williams testified before the U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on 3-19-54 at New Orleans. He identified himself as president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (This organization succeeded the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, cited by HCUA). Williams denied Communist Party membership and admitted former affiliation with the Civil Rights Congress, (cited by the Attorney General). He also admitted signing the Stockholm Peace Appeal petition in 1950; speaking before the Association of Internes and Medical Students, 1950 (cited by HCUA); (3-20-54 issue of "New Orleans States," newspaper.

According to the 9-25-55, issue of the "Daily Worker", 365 prominent Americans had filed an amici curiae brief (friends of the court) with the U. S. Supreme Court urging the high court to declare the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) unconstitutional. The brief stated in part that the act was the "most terrible threat so far devised to freedom in America." Williams was listed among the signers who endorsed the brief.

PCY:aeu

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DATE 12-8-83 BY SP2 TAP/JAC

Thomas I. Emerson, Page 21

July 17, 1956

Information Not Verified

2835101-8 8-7-89

That Emerson was a sponsor of Live and Let Live.

Additional Pertinent Information

In July, 1949, a Bill of Rights Conference was held in New York, sponsored by a group of individuals which included Emerson, to discuss current issues of civil liberties. At that conference Emerson assisted in drafting and supported on the floor a resolution on the Smith Act which called for upholding the rights of members of the Socialist Workers Party as well as the Communist Party against infringement by prosecution under the Smith Act.

The "Yale Daily News", a student newspaper at Yale University, for September 30, 1949, reported that at a meeting of the New Haven Civil Liberties Council held on September 29, 1949, the main subject of discussion was as to whether communists should be barred from membership in the organization. The newspaper reported that Emerson was the leader in the fight for accepting into the organization the support of the communists or any other persons interested in the preservation of civil liberties. The "Yale Daily News" for October 3, 1949, carried an editorial regarding the above meeting and criticized Emerson and his group for allowing the support of communists. This article indicated that the result of this action by Emerson's group was "another democratic organization that will probably exhaust what life it has hewing close to the Communist Party line."

EFT:plp

Thomas I. Emerson

The October 15, 1949, edition of the "Yale Daily News" contained an interview with Emerson regarding his opinion of the guilty verdict brought in by the jury in New York City against the eleven Communist Party leaders. He is quoted as follows: "I wonder if any thoughtful person seriously believes that the conviction of the Communist leaders will protect us, in any degree, from the dangers of Communism. As President Seymour has so well said, we cannot hope to defend American political ideals by a 'rear guard action', but only by 'positive and imaginative measures.'"

On March 19, 1956, at the U.S. District Court, New Haven, Connecticut, where eight individuals were tried for conspiring to violate the Smith Act of 1940, Emerson was introduced to the court by the Defense Counsel as the individual who had done the major portion of the work in connection with the Defendant's Motion for Judgement of Acquittal because of the absence of clear and present danger. Emerson was admitted to the Bar of the Court for the purpose of this case. During his oral argument for support of this Motion for Judgement of Acquittal, Emerson asserted that the utterances of the defendants were different from any danger that arises from the Communist Party and that these defendants were not top leaders of the Communist Party, and that there was nothing in the record of this trial to show that these defendants since 1952 had advocated force or violence.

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DAVID HABER, PAGE 21

Each of the items in the proposed testimony has been verified in Bureau files with the exception of the statement, "sponsored the W.E.B. DuBois Sponsorship Committee in 1951."

The program of the Eleventh National Convention of National Lawyers' Guild, held October, 1951, in Chicago, Illinois, reflects the name of David Haber as a member of the Resolutions Committee. The National Lawyers' Guild has been cited as a communist front by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.

BVG:vec

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 12-8-83 BY SP2 TAP/SAC
208 81511-8 8-7-89

July 17, 1956

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, PAGE 22

Each of the items concerning Meiklejohn in the proposed testimony has been verified in Bureau files with the exception of his affiliation with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in 1951.

An article in the Commonwealth College Fortnightly for November 14, 1937, gives the name of Alexander Meiklejohn as a member of the National Advisory Committee for Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas (Commonwealth College cited by the Attorney General).

The name of Alexander Meiklejohn appears as a member of the American Advisory Committee to the Open Road in a pamphlet issued in 1939 (Open Road cited as a communist front by California Committee on Un-American Activities).

In April, 1942, Dr. Meiklejohn issued invitations to a reception under the sponsorship of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (Cited by the Attorney General).

The May 8, 1950, issue of the "Daily Worker" reported that Meiklejohn, among others, spoke at a national convention of the National Lawyers' Guild held May 5-7, 1950, at New York City, against "destructive attacks on the Bill of Rights by the Court and Government representatives." (National Lawyers' Guild cited as a communist front by HCUA).

BVG:vec

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DATE 12-8-83 BY SP2
TAP/JAC

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EDWARD U. CONDON, PAGE 27

Information verified concerning the captioned individual

In 1952 Condon admitted before the House Committee on un-American Activities that he had been a member of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship (Cited by the Attorney General). He also admitted he was a member of the Science Committee of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship which became the American Soviet Science Society (Cited by HCUA). Our files indicate that Condon was on the executive committee of this latter organization.

In 1947, Condon was sponsor for the Washington Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Cited by HCUA)

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BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR., PAGE 26

Additional Pertinent Information

The November, 1947 issue of the "Progressive Citizen" published by the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA) reflects Wright to be vice chairman of the PCA. The same information appeared in the 12-30-46 and 1-24-48 issues of the "Daily Worker." (The PCA is cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities)

A news release of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (cited by the Attorney General) revealed that Wright was among those who greeted a special conference of that committee at Chicago, Ill. on 5-25-47. In March, 1949 Wright supported a demonstration by that committee. (Daily Worker, 3-29-49)

Wright signed a call for a National Negro Congress, held at Chicago, Ill., 2-14-36. (National Negro Congress is cited by the Attorney General.)

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BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS; 26B

EDWARD SHILS, PAGE 28

Additional Pertinent Information

While a student at the University of Chicago in 1937, Shils was a member of the American Student Union, cited by the HCUA.

The Special April, 1955, issue of the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" also contained an article written by Robert S. Brown, Jr., of the Yale University Law School, which article was critical of the loyalty-security program as being a "shocking waste of resources," since thousands are engaged in the administration of security programs.

According to the 12-7-47 issue of the "Bridgeport Herald," Brown was one of a group of faculty members of the Yale University Law School who signed letters to high government officials protesting the Loyalty Program and urging the abolition of the HCUA.

Brown was co-author of an article dealing with the Coast Guard screening program which article was published in the July, 1953, issue of the "Yale Law Journal." The article dealt with the constitutionality of the Port Security Program whereby poor security risks were excluded from working on maritime vessels or in restricted water front areas. The article attacked and belittled the practice of relying on FBI confidential informants whose identities are not revealed.

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SHILS

In July, 1952, Brown was cited by "Counterattack," anticommunistic publication, as one "who attacks the governments loyalty program."

According to the "Daily Worker" of 3-21-56, Brown was one of four nationally famous educators who submitted briefs on behalf of eight Smith Act defendants on trial at New Haven, Conn. The Briefs presented to show that the defendants were not a "clear and present danger" to the United States Government. Brown's brief dealt with the status of the Communist Party.

PCY:plp

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DR. LINUS CARL PAULING, PAGE 27

Information verified concerning the captioned individual with the exception of affiliation with Win the Peace Conference. However, our files show activity in the following peace organizations:

Sponsor, American Peace Crusade (Cited by Attorney General) and the People's Congress and Exposition for Peace set for June 29-30 and July 1, 1951, in Chicago, Illinois. "Daily Worker" 4-15-51.

Speaker, 5-22-54 at the Pasadena Peace Committee, an adjunct of the American Peace Crusade listed above. "Pasadena Star News" 5-24-54.

Sponsor, Second World Peace Congress (Cited by HCUA). "The Worker" 10-29-50.

Our files reflect association with the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (Cited by HCUA) instead of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace as listed in the attached brief.

Pauling has been the subject of a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation which reflects association with numerous cited organizations, but this information cannot be disseminated outside of the Executive Branch of the Government.

The following public source information is given for lead data:

Signer of a declaration by Dr. Howard Selsen, Director of the Jefferson School of Social Science (Cited by Attorney General), which declaration was filed with the Attorney General of the United States and stated in part that "any attempt to
SHR:plp

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DATE 8-7-89 BY 8885 JCB

DR. LINUS CARL PAULING

surpress the teachings of Marxism in the United States imperils our free inquiry" "Daily Peoples World" 7-6-54.

Speaker before the Los Angeles Chapter of National Lawyers Guild (Cited by HCUA) on 10-19-49. Advocated international control of atomic energy and criticized the "constant anti-communist, anti-Soviet Union propaganda." "Daily Peoples World" 10-29-49.

An article in the "Daily Worker" dated 11-19-48, advised that Pauling had called for abolition of the HCUA, revocation of the Loyalty Order, and dismissal of indictments against the "Hollywood Ten," Joint anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cited by Attorney General) and the twelve Communist Party leaders.

"The Pasadena Independent" of 5-10- 49 contained an article captioned "Pauling Okays Red Teachers" in which Dr. Pauling declared he saw no reason for dismissing a communist as long as he does his job as a professor.

SHR:plp

100-321697-111

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Corrections and Additions to Proposed Testimony

Page 2

(1) Last par., line 6.

Title 18, USC, Sec. 2385

(2) Par. 3, line 2

Daily Worker of May 16, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-7-89 BY 888051-8

100 - 321327-24

PCY:plp

July 16, 1956

Other Pertinent Information

Hammerstein has been connected with the following cited organizations:

In December, 1946, was member of the "National Committee to Oust Bilbo," an organization sponsored by Civil Rights Congress (Cited by the Attorney General)

Was sponsor, April, 1946, of National Committee to Win the Peace. (Cited by HCUA)

Was sponsor, April, 1944, of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Cited by Attorney General)

In 1949-50 was sponsor of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, organized by the National Negro Congress (Cited by Attorney General)

In October, 1944, was honorary member of the Association of Young Writers and Artists, an organization affiliated with the Southern Negro Youth Congress (Cited by AG)

Served as committee member, March, 1942, with the United American Spanish Aid Committee (Cited by AG)

In 1945 was initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Cited by HCUA)

In March, 1948 sent greetings to a dinner held by the Committee for the First Amendment (Cited by California Committee on Un-American Activities)

In 1946 was sponsor of the Emergency Committee on KFI (Cited by California Committee)

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Hammerstein

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In 1948 was one of founders of the east coast committee of the Freedom from Fear Committee (Cited by California Committee)

In September, 1943, was sponsor of the National Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation (Cited by California Committee)

In October, 1941, was sponsor of Russian War Relief Inc., (Cited by California Committee)

In May, 1948, Hammerstein was among groups of thirty film and stage writers who planned to file an anti-trust suit to compel motion picture producers to lift the ban on communist Scenarists (Wash. Times-Herald, 5-30-48)

In December, Hammerstein condemned the use of loyalty questionnaires (NY Times, 12-29-50)

PCY:plp

July 16, 1956

Additional pertinent information:

In October, 1939, Shuster supported the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, cited by the HCUA. (See Daily Worker, 10-3-39)

In December, 1948, Shuster was delegated by the Workers Defense League (cited by HCUA) to assemble factual data concerning "Forced Labor" throughout the world. (New York Times, 12-6-48)

In the "New York Times" of 11-20-47 it was stated that Dr. Shuster pursued a program of "keeping the communists above ground at Hunter College."

The 12-13-47 issue of the "New York Journal American," records that the opposition of Dr. Shuster to communism is well-known.

Comments:

- 1) Line 7, paragraph 7 is incomplete and should read: The House Committee on Un-American Activities stated that this organization was stacked with well-known communists and fellow travelers.
- 2) Line 7, paragraph 2, has the date of the "New York Times" issue omitted. The issue referred to is probably the 11-20-47 issue of that paper.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-7-89 BY 8836571/28

July 16, 1956

Additional Pertinent Information

On 4-21-49, Hutchins testified before the State of Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission. He testified that in 1948 he authorized the use of his name as a signer to a statement issued by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP), cited by the HCUA, but he did not authorize the use of his name for a NCASP conference on 10/9,10/48. He further stated that he was not satisfied that the NCASP was a communist front even though cited as such by the HCUA.

On 6-20-39, Hutchins made a coast-to-coast broadcast under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Cited by the HCUA)

In 1941, his name was included in the indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Cited by the Attorney General), on a list believed to be names of persons interested in social legislation who might participate in a national lobby against legislation objected to by that organization.

In July, 1950, Hutchins strongly opposed loyalty oaths particularly for school teachers and professors as required by the Dilworth Law in the State of California. (Daily Worker of 7-7-50)

In June, 1951, Hutchins opposed the U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the eleven communist leaders under the Smith Act. (Daily Worker, 6-25-51)

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DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 SJJ/af

Hutchins

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He denounced the activities of the HCUA, in December, 1952, protesting the "spread of censorship." (Daily Peoples World, 12-15-52)

In June, 1953, he branded the California State Senate Investigation Committee on Education as "subversive and un-American" and urged its repudiation. (Washington Post, 6-12-53)

In December, 1953, Hutchins delivered a lecture in Beverly Hills, California, in which he characterized Congressional Committees investigating Communists and Facists as being run by a bunch of "Characters"; declared he did not believe in any kind of a loyalty oath for school teachers or professors and regarded such means as "nothing more than threats and intimidations against one's character."

In this lecture, Hutchins said: "The only people we will believe are confessed spies and traitors." As for outlawing the Communist Party, Hutchins contented that he would take the opposite course and remove all limitations upon communists. He said, "I would not condemn a man because he belonged to an organization. The Communist Party may be in the hands of the Kremlin but it does not follow that everyone in the Communist Party is a part of the conspiracy." He said further, "I do not feel that the Communist Party is as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist Party he is dangerous. This is not true." (Southern California Daily Trojan, 12-3-53; Daily Peoples World,

Hutchins

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12-9-53; 100-368336-5)

Hutchins at a news conference on 11-7-55 stated that "the Communist Party is a danger to the U. S.," but he would still give a communist a job. He added, "I wouldn't hesitate to hire a communist for a job he was well qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it."

During this news conference Hutchins defended the Fund's hiring of Amos Landman as a part-time publicity man in July, 1955, even though Landman has pleaded the Fifth Amendment when questioned by a Senate Committee about CP membership. According to Hutchins, Landman left the Fund on 11-1-55. When asked by a reporter if it were not an affront to the American People to hire Landman, Hutchins replied: "Not at all. The Fifth Amendment is a part of the Bill of Rights." ("Wm News, 11-9-55;" Wm Post & Times-Herald, 11-8-55; 100-391697-248)

PCY:plp

July 18, 1956

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, PAGE 7

I. Allegations verified

Affiliations with cited groups

1. *New Theatre (Cong. Comm.)*
2. *Scientific and Cultural Conference
for World Peace (Cong. Comm.)*
3. *New Theatre League (Calif. Comm.)*

II. Information not verified

(Not applicable)

III. Affiliations with other cited groups

1. *American Committee for Democracy and
Intellectual Freedom (Cong. Comm.)*

MSC:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 838 (S13) o8

June 17, 1956

ELMER DAVIS, PAGE 7

Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information regarding any organizational activity on the part of Davis.

MSC:plp

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PAGE 9

Include the following after Harvard University, line 4, paragraph 1.

This study resulted in the publication of two books by the Fund in early 1955, "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." The "Bibliography," which is devoted primarily to literature relating to communism in the U.S. since the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919, was distributed by the Fund to libraries, educational institutions, and governmental agencies. In October, 1955, the "Bibliography" received considerable criticism in the press from scholars and writers who claimed that it had omitted important anticommunist works. Subsequently, David Freeman, secretary of the Fund, announced on 10/29/55 that the Fund had decided to revise the "Bibliography" to correct some of its mistakes and would include works of some of the outstanding anticommunist writers.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-7-89 BY 2082517/af

July 16, 1956

Arthur E. Sutherland, Page 9

Information Not Verified:

On 10-25-39, the Dies Committee released a list of 563 names purporting to be members of and/or on the mailing list of the Washington Branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, cited by the Attorney General. Included on this list was an Arthur Sutherland, analyst, Department of Labor. (It is not possible to determine whether this individual is identical with the Arthur E. Sutherland who is connected with the Fund for the Republic.)
(Washington Times-Herald, 10-25-39)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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PCY:plp

July 17, 1956

JOEL I. SEIDMAN, PAGE 9

Allegations Verified (Groups are not cited)

Affiliations with:

1. League for Industrial Democracy
2. Socialist Party

Affiliations not Verified

"Socialist Call," "New Frontiers," Brookwood College, and Union for Democratic Action, not verified. No attempt made to verify as not cited groups.

Affiliations with Additional Cited Groups

American Student Union (cited by Congressional Committee)

MSC:plp

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July 17, 1956

CHARLES E. CORKER, PAGE 9

No allegations re organizational activities.

No derogatory information in Bureau files.

MSC:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

July 17, 1956

HELEN MERRELL LYND, PAGE 9

I. Allegations Verified:

Affiliations with cited organizations.

1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (cited by the Attorney General)
2. League of American Writers(cited by Attorney General)
3. League of Women Shoppers(cited by Congressional Committee)
4. American Committee to Save Refugees(cited by Congressional Committee)
5. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee(cited by Attorney General)

II. Allegations not Verified:

Affiliations with cited organizations.

1. American League for Peace and Democracy (cited by Attorney General)
2. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (cited by Attorney General)
3. Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (cited by Congressional Committee)
4. Stockholm Peace Petition(cited by Congressional Committee)

III. Affiliations With Other Cited Groups:

1. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (cited by Attorney General)
2. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (cited by the Attorney General)

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3. *New York Conference for Inalienable Rights*
(cited by Congressional Committee)
4. *Committee for Defense of Public Education*
(cited by Congressional Committee)
5. *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts,
Sciences and Professions*(cited by Congressional
Committee)
6. *National Committee to Win the Peace* (cited
by Attorney General)
7. *American Council on Soviet Relations* (cited
by Attorney General)

*Signed statement (1941) urging the defeat of a bill
to bar the Communist Party on the ballot in New York.*

8. *American Labor Party*

July 17, 1956

GORDON W. ALLFORD, PAGE 10

Affiliations with other cited groups

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (AG)
American League for Peace and Democracy (AG)
American Youth for Democracy (AG)
Civil Rights Congress (AG)
Council for PanAmerican Democracy (AG)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (AG)
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (AG)
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to
aid Spanish Democracy (Cong. Comm.)
Workers Party (AG)
Young Communist League (AG)
American Student Union (Cong. Comm.)
Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts (Cong. Comm.)
John Reed Club (of the U. S.) (Cong. Comm.)
National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (Cong. Comm.)
National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and
Professions (Cong. Comm.)
Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Cong. Comm.)
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax (Calif. Comm.)
"Science and Society" (Cong. Comm.)
Spanish Intellectual Aid affiliate of North American
Spanish Aid Committee (AG)
American Committee for Democracy and
Intellectual Freedom (Cong. Comm.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-7-89 BY 65823 J

July 16, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Page 10

I. Information verified other than following:

Affiliation with World Youth Conference not verified during review of two extensive investigations and 9/9/55 summary regarding Johnson.

II. Other Affiliations with Cited Groups

1. Association of Internes and Medical Students (Cong. Comm.)
2. American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Calif. Comm.)
3. International Labor Defense (A.G.)
4. Johnson-Forest Group (A.G.)
5. Council on African Affairs (A.G.)
6. National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Cong. Comm.)
7. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Cong. Comm.)
8. Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Illinois (A.G.)

IV. Anti-Communist Attitude

Dr. Harold Smith, registrar, Fisk University, advised during the course of an interview with an FBI representative that if information came to Johnson's attention that any person connected with Fisk University exhibited any type of subversive activities, Johnson took immediate steps to have the person removed from the school.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 0088517108

Johnson gave sworn testimony during hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on 7/13,14,18/49 concerning communist infiltration of minority groups, during which testimony he stated, "I am not now, and have never been, a member of the Communist Party."

MSC:plp

July 18, 1956

EARL BROWDER, PAGE 10

Information concerning Browder in the proposed
testimony is reflected in our files.

PCY:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

July 18, 1956

CLARK BYSE, PAGE 10

Our files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning Byse.

PCY: plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2028 BTJ/ef

July 18, 1956

LOUIS JOUGHIN, PAGE 10

Our files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning Joughin.

PCY:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8B5U/af

July 17, 1956

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, PAGES 10-18

This organization has not been investigated by the Bureau. It has had no official connection with the Fund for the Republic other than allowing its annual report to be distributed by the Fund. No attempt is being made to verify the information in the outline relative to this organization as it would require a considerable number of extensive file reviews.

PCY:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 588(SIJ)/088

July 17, 1956

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE JR., PAGE 19

Information not verified:

That Chafee Jr. signed a statement in 1933 urging United States recognition of the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Additional pertinent information

"The New York Times" of 9/39/49 reported in an article captioned "Judge Chides Reds on 'Open Activities'" that the defense counsel for the Communists then on trial, George W. Crockett, Jr., quoted the following from the book by Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., entitled "Free Speech in the U. S.":

"No man can soberly contend that the
C P is a conspiracy."

EFT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8CSTJ/ef

July 17, 1956

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, PAGE 20

Additional Pertinent Information

Commager wrote an article entitled "Who is Loyal to America?" which appeared in the September, 1947, issue of "Harper's Magazine." In this article Commager discussed at length the loyalty program, characterizing the "new loyalty" as "conformity." An outline dated September 8, 1947, issued by the New York State Communist Party suggested that certain special approaches be made to different groups. One of these outlines, captioned "Dennis Case and Liberals, Intellectuals, and Middle Class and the Thomas Witch-Hunt," recommended Commager's article appearing in the September, 1947, issue of "Harper's Magazine" as a very good article in which he attacks the witch-hunt and pointed out that reprints were available. A form letter sent out by the Civil Rights Congress on November 26, 1947, also called attention to this article by Commager, stating that the article contained a careful analysis of current problems facing thinking Americans.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-7-89 BY 65851J/08

July 18, 1956

WALTER F. GELLHORN, PAGE 21

Information Not Verified:

Line 2 -- should be Open Road instead of Open Board.

Additional Pertinent Information:

The "Daily Worker" of February 6, 1941, lists the name of Professor Walter Gellhorn with others as a sponsor of the American Rescue Ship Mission. The American Rescue Ship Mission has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Additional public source data concerning Walter Gellhorn is located on pages 903 through 905 and 1218 through 1222 of the Hearings before the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, held in May, June, and July, 1954. The latter pages include a statement which Gellhorn made under oath and which he sent to Congressman Carroll Reece, chairman of the above committee. Gellhorn requested that this statement be included in the printed proceedings of the committee.

EFT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-7-89 BY SP8 (STJ) p8

July 17, 1956

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, PAGE 22

Each of the items concerning Jones in the proposed testimony has been verified with the exception of his sponsorship of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism.

Jones attended meetings of the Boston-Cambridge Chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (cited as a communist front by HCUA) from its inception in January, 1948. The group changed its name to Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts in May, 1952, and Jones' name appears on a 1954 list of members of this organization.

An article in the October 20, 1950, issue of the "Harvard Crimson" captioned "Jones Rejects California Jobs on Oath Basis, Says Regent Faith in Faculty Necessary," stated that Jones had rejected an offer of a summer professorship from the University of California because of loyalty oaths imposed on the faculty.

The Boston Post for March 17, 1953, had an article captioned "Harvard Man Flays Firing Reds -- Sees No Peril to U.S. of Subversives in Classrooms." The article reflected that at a Wellesley College Honors Day Convocation on March 16, 1953, Howard Mumford Jones had stated, "What is really alleged by the administrators is not that the offending instructor is a conspirator against the peace of the United States by being a member of the Communist Party; it is that he has a closed mind and is therefore no longer fit to teach. Even communists are entitled to justice and the communist who is discharged from his past on that ground has a perfect right to retort, 'Whose mind is closed - yours or mine?'"

BVG:veg
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 88750/af

Southern Regional Council, Page 22

The Fund for the Republic has indicated on page 22 of its three-year report, released on 6-22-56, that it has granted \$445,000 to the Southern Regional Council (SRC) to strengthen its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and to staff twelve state affiliates to work on educational programs in race relations throughout the South. According to an article in 11-7-55 issue of the "New York Journal-American," the SRC has twenty-one members with past pro-communist affiliations.

PCY:plp

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 288157JLP

July 17, 1956

PROFESSOR [] PAGE 23

Allegations not verified:

Bureau files fail to reflect information indicating
Atwood was ever affiliated with the National Negro Congress.

b6
b7c

Additional Pertinent Information

[] has been affiliated with the Southern Negro
Congress and the Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas,
organization cited by the Attorney General.

ABF:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 208 81575108

July 18, 1956

LOUIS E. BURNHAM, PAGE 23

Allegations regarding Burnham have been verified through information in Bufiles.

Bureau files reflect Burnham's affiliation with the following additional organizations.

Young Communist League (cited by Attorney General)

Communist Party (cited by Attorney General)

National Negro Labor Council (cited by Attorney General)

International Labor Defense (cited by Attorney General)

American Peace Mobilization (cited by Attorney General)

Harlem Trade Union Council (cited by Attorney General)

*National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
(cited by HCUA)*

ABF:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2088 B17108

July 17, 1956

STANLEY R. BRAV, PAGE 23

Allegations not verified:

Bureau files fail to reflect information indicating that Brav was ever affiliated with the Far East Spotlight and the Bill of Rights Conference.

Additional Pertinent Information

Brav has also been affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress (cited by Attorney General) and the Stockholm Peace Petition (cited by HCUA)

ABF:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 258 BTJ/ef

July 17, 1956

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, PAGE 23

Allegations regarding Brown have been verified through information in Bufiles. There is no additional pertinent information concerning him.

ABF:men

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 208151 JSP

July 17, 1956

RUFUS E. CLEMENT, PAGE 24
OFFICIAL OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Information not verified:

Affiliation with American Council on Soviet Relations.

Additional Information:

9-21-48 "The Atlanta Journal," Atlanta, Georgia, newspaper, reported Clement as a sponsor of an invitation to Hewlett Johnson, "The Red Dean of Canterbury," to visit the United States after the State Department had denied Johnson a visa to tour America under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, cited by Attorney General. (Same information was reported in "Daily Worker" 9-22-48.)

A statement made by Dr. Clement over radio station WBGE, Atlanta, Georgia, on 4/28/53 states in part as follows:

"I have never denied membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, in the Southern Negro Youth Congress, or in the American Committee for the protection of Foreign Born. I would, however, call attention to the fact that I was in these organizations at a time and during a period when many well-known, thoroughly loyal Americans, Negroes and whites, northern and southern, held memberships therein."

"I withdrew or resigned from each of the above mentioned organizations, as soon as I had the slightest indication that they were steering to the left, or that they were being infiltrated by communism."

EJT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 005257 JAB

July 16, 1956

CLARK FOREMAN, PAGE 24
OFFICIAL OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Information Not Verified:

Affiliation with the American Continental Congress for Peace.

Additional Information:

Official of Progressive Citizens of America. ("Daily Worker", 12/30/46., page 12, column 3; 12/1/47, page 3, column 4; and 1/9/48, page 2.) PCA cited by CCUA. ✓

Sponsor of National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, cited by HCUA. (Report of Committee on Un-American Activities, 1950, Section ck, page 11)

Denied Communist Party membership in connection with hearing on his passport application. ("Daily Worker" 7/8/55, page 1)

As of February, 1950, Foreman was listed as a member of Board of Directors of the China Aid Council, cited by HCUA.

In December, 1948, he was a member of the Executive Board of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, cited by CCUA.

EJT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 0088151708

July 17, 1956

LUTHER P. JACKSON, PAGE 24
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA
OFFICIAL OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Information not verified:

Affiliation with the Civil Rights Congress.

Affiliation with the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives
to the Atlantic Pact.

Additional Information:

Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, Ettrick,
Virginia, was listed as one of the sponsors of the Southern Negro
Youth Congress in a pamphlet entitled "The Southern Negro Youth
Congress Summons You To -- The Southern Youth Legislature, Columbia,
South Carolina, Oct. 18, 19, 20, 1946". SNYC is cited by A.G.

The Richmond, Va. "Afro-American" on 2/9/46 reported
that Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College, was one of
the persons named to serve on a nominating committee to propose
a list of officers for the newly organized Virginia Committee of
the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, SCHW has been cited by
HCUA.

"PM" for 3/3/47, page 20, listed Dr. Luther P. Jackson,
Virginia State University, among the signers of a statement
condemning undemocratic practices of the HCUA as exemplified by
persecution of Gerhart Eisler.

EJT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-7-89 BY 0083513/008

July 17, 1956

DR. D. V. JEMISON, PAGE 24
SELMA, ALABAMA
OFFICIAL OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

All information was verified.

Additional Information:

Signer of Stockholm Peace Appeal. (Counterattack 8/18/50)

"Mobile Press" for 10/9/47 reported receipt of \$1000.00 contribution to Southern Conference for Human Welfare from National Baptist Convention, which contribution was submitted in a communication from Dr. Jemison. Dr. Jemison's letter praised the SCHW for the great work which it was doing. A 1946 letterhead of the SCHW reflects that Rev. D. V. Jemison was a member of the advisory council of the Committee for Alabama of the SCHW. SCHW cited by HCUA.

"PM" for 3/3/47, page 20, listed Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention of USA, among signers of statement condemning undemocratic practices of the HCUA as exemplified by persecution of Gerhart Eisler.

In 1949, Dr. Jemison was described by a close acquaintance as an "elderly Negro man who is not intelligent and is failing mentally to the point where it is difficult for him to carry on a conversation."

EJT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8857/28

July 17, 1956

DR. DAVID D. JONES, PAGE 24
OFFICIAL OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Information not verified:

Affiliation with Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace. Although numerous sources indicate that one Dr. David D. Jones was affiliated with this organization, none contain any identifying data.

Additional information:

Signer of letter initiated by Schappes Defense Committee, cited by AG. ("The New York Times", 10/9/44)

Sponsor on pamphlet issuing call for Fifth All Southern Negro Youth Conference, sponsored by Southern Negro Youth Congress, cited by AG. Also signer of letter on behalf of SNYC. ("Daily Worker" 2/7/41, page 5.

Pages 74, 82, and 87 of House Report No. 1661, House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect affiliation of Dr. Jones with Methodist Federation for Social Action, cited by CCUA.

Sponsor of 10th anniversary convention of National Negro Congress to be held in Detroit, Michigan, during Spring of 1946, according to convention program. NNC cited by AG.

EJT:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2057/STJ

July 18, 1956

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, PAGE 25

Information concerning Washington has been verified.
There is no additional pertinent information in Bufiles
concerning him.

SHR:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8837128

July 17, 1956

BENJAMIN E. MAYS, PAGE 25

Additional Affiliations

Council for Pan-American Democracy (AG)

"Win the Peace" Conference at Washington, D. C. 4/5-7/56
National Committee to Win the Peace (AG)

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America (AG)

Southern Conference for Human Welfare (HCUA)

Mid-Century Conference for Peace (HCUA)

Council on African Affairs (AG)

Information Not Verified

Affiliation with the American Council for the Protection
of the Foreign Born.

PEY:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-7-89 BY 25851-af

July 17, 1956

FREDERICK DOUGLAS PATTERSON, PAGE 25

Additional Pertinent Information

1944, sponsor, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. (AG)

Frederick Douglass Patterson, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Southern Negro Youth Congress; Southern Conference for Human Welfare; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; National Negro Congress.

PCY:plp

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DATE 3-7-89 BY 03851028

July 17, 1956

E. C. PETERS, PAGE 25

Additional Pertinent Information

In June, 1943, Peters signed a petition on behalf of the Council for Pan-American Democracy. (Cited by Attorney General) (Daily Worker, 6-6-43)

PCY:plp

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DATE 8-7-89 BY 8151 J/ab

July 17, 1956

HOMER P. RAINEY, PAGE 25

Additional Pertinent Information

Speaker, March, 1945 before Academic Council of
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (cited by
AG) (3-10-45, "Peoples Voice")

Rainey in public speech March, 1953 stated that communists
on faculties should not be fired on that charge alone. He
said that communism in schools was a calculated risk well worth
taking, and that it did not warrant the unjust investigations
and guilt by association now being employed. ("The Columbia
(Missouri) Missourian," 3-30-53)

PCY:

PCY:plp

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DATE 8-7-89 BY 88205TJag

July 18, 1956

DR. IRA DE A REID, PAGE 25

Information in the proposed testimony concerning Reid has been verified through Bufiles.

In addition, Dr. J. B. Matthews, Research Director, HCUA, in testimony before HCUA on 10-3-44 advised that Dr. Reid was a member of the following organizations:

American League Against War and Fascism (AG)

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (AG)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (AG)

SHR:plp

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-7-89 BY 2881510/8

Harold C. Urey

July 17, 1956

Allegations concerning Urey were verified with the exception of the National Emergency Conference which appeared in our files as the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (HCUA).

Dr. Urey has been associated with numerous cited organizations; however, this information was developed during a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation and cannot be disseminated outside of the Executive Branch of the Government.

The following public source information is set forth as lead data:

Urey was a petitioner, April, 1938, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (HCUA) "Daily Worker" 4-8-38.

Petitioner, April, 1938. Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo on Loyalist Spain (HCUA) "Daily Worker" 4-9-38.

Petitioner, January, 1939 Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo (California Committee on Un-American Activities) "New York Times" 1-31-39.

Supporter, September, 1947, American-Soviet Science Society (HCUA) "PM" 9-22-47.

Petitioner, January, 1949 Committee of One Thousand (California Committee on Un-American Activities). "Daily Worker" 1-3-49.

In addition to the above activities, the Washington "Evening Star" of January 5, 1953 carried an appeal sponsored by the Emergency Committee of the Arts and Professions to Secure Clemency for the Rosenbergs. This appeal contained excerpts from a letter of Harold C. Urey dated December 16, 1952, with an application for judicial

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-8 BY 058572af

Harold C. Urey

commutation of sentence for the Rosenbergs.

"The New York Herald Tribune" dated June 13, 1953, reflected a statement of Urey as follows:

"The Government's case against the Rosenbergs was scientifically unsound and based on patently perjured testimony." He asked President Eisenhower for an opportunity to present his understanding of the case to him."

SHR:aeu

STATEMENT OF J. ADDINGTON WAGNER, NATIONAL COMMANDER
OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH HEARING
ON THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, JUNE 27, 1956

* * * * *

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is J. Addington Wagner. I am the National Commander of The American Legion. I appreciate this opportunity to carry out the recent mandate of the National Executive Committee of The American Legion which reads as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, By the National Executive Committee assembled at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 2-3-4, 1956, that we strongly urge the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress to initiate its announced intention of further investigation and hearings on the Fund for the Republic and its activities."

The American Legion is primarily opposed to the activities of the Fund For The Republic because they appear to lead but to one purpose - the destruction of the internal security of the United States. This is clearly seen in a statement taken from page 11 of the May 31, 1955 Report of the Fund For The Republic.

"A political party in this country has been identified with the 'enemy.' Those associated with this party have therefore come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state. In view of the weapons now available and of the examples of subversion that other countries have offered the danger has seemed great, though often mysterious and intangible. It has appeared that the peril to the country

- (18) Archibald Macleish
- (19) Robert J. Oppenheimer
- (20) James H. Patton
- (21) Aubry Williams
- (22) Roger W. Baldwin
- (23) Osmond Franke
- (a) Freedom Agenda Program
 - (1) Zechariah Chafee, Jr.
 - (2) Henry Steel Commager
 - (3) Thomas I. Emerson
 - (4) Walter Dellhorn
 - (5) David Huber
 - (6) Howard Mumford Jones
 - (7) Alexander Meiklejohn
- (c) Southern Regional Council
 - (1) R. S. Atwood
 - (2) Stanley R. Grav
 - (3) Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown
 - (4) Louis R. Burnham
 - (5) Rufus S. Clement
 - (6) Clark Foreman
 - (7) Luther P. Jackson
 - (8) D. V. Jamison
 - (9) David D. Jones
 - (10) Charles S. Johnson
 - (11) Benjamin E. Mays
 - (12) Frederick Douglas Patterson
 - (13) E. C. Peters
 - (14) Homer P. Meiney
 - (15) Dr. Ira De A. Reid
 - (16) Forrester Washington
 - (17) Aubry Williams
 - (18) Bishop E. W. Wright, Jr.

VI Support of Certain Individuals

Page 26A

- (a) Mary Knowles
- (b) Walter Dellhorn
- (c) Robert Cushman

VII Distribution of Publications

Pages 26B - 38

- (a) Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
 - (1) Harold C. Wray
 - (2) Edward V. Condon
 - (3) Linus Carl Pauling
 - (4) Robert J. Oppenheimer
- (b) The Fifth Amendment Today
- (c) The Fears Men Live By
- (d) Civil Liberties in the United States
- (e) Government by Investigation
- (f) The Way to be Safe Is Never to be Secure

VIII Conclusion

Page 39

OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION ON THE SUBJECT
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

<u>I</u>	Opening Remarks	Pages 1 - 3
	(a) NEC Resolution	
	(b) Statement of objectives of the Fund	
<u>II</u>	Structure of the Fund	Pages 3 - 6
	(a) Paul Hoffman	
	(b) George W. Shuster	
	(c) Robert M. Hutchins	
	(d) Oscar Hammerstein II	
<u>III</u>	Employees of the Fund	Pages 6 - 8
	(a) Amos Landman	
	(b) Robert E. Cushman	
	(c) Elmer Davis	
<u>IV</u>	Activities of the Fund	Pages 8 - 10
	(a) Committee on Study of Communist Activity in America	
	(1) Arthur E. Sutherland	
	(2) Joel Seedman	
	(3) Charles E. Corker	
	(b) Committee on Study of Fear in Education	
	(1) Helen M. Lynd	
	(c) Committee on Study of Communist Influence in American Life	
	(1) Earl Browder	
	(d) Commission on Race and Housing	
	(1) Gordon W. Allport	
	(2) Charles S. Johnson	
	(3)	
		Pages 10 - 26
<u>V</u>	Support of Various Organizations by the Fund	
	(a) The American Civil Liberties Union	
	(1) John Haynes Holmes	
	(2) Dorothy Kenyon	
	(3) Varian Fry	
	(4) Walter Gellhorn	
	(5) John Paul Jones	
	(6) Elmer Rice	
	(7) Pearl S. Buck	
	(8) Albert Sprague Coolidge	
	(9) Frank P. Graham	
	(10) Lillian E. Smith	
	(11) Van Wyck Brooks	
	(12) Dr. Rufus Clement	
	(13) George S. Counts	
	(14) Frederick M. Eliot	
	(15) James Lawrence Fly	
	(16) Max Lerner	
	(17) Robert S. Lynd	

✓ could be dealt with only by methods that drastically departed from those which have characterized Anglo-American jurisprudence.

"The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association. The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote. The treatment accorded suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings has not always been that contemplated by the Sixth Amendment. A kind of continuous propaganda and social pressure has been kept up that has tended to suppress conscientious non-conformity. Political advantage has accrued from claiming that others were indifferent to the threat of communism. The result has been that governmental officers, university presidents, and ordinary citizens have felt it necessary to exhibit inordinate anxiety on this score."

✓ That so learned a body of men as those who control the destinies of the Fund for The Republic should err in naming the Communist Party in the U.S.A. a political party instead of a conspiratory organization with international bonds, is in itself indicative of their very attitude both toward this menace and toward the laws of the United States which deal specifically with it. Under Title 18, United States Code, Section 2385 "Whoever knowingly or willfully advocates, abets, advises, or teaches the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District or Possession thereof, or the

government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government; or whoever, with intent to cause the over-throw or destruction of any such government, prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence, or attempts to do so; or whoever organizes or helps or attempts to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government by force or violence; or becomes or is a member of, or affiliates with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purposes thereof - shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both, and shall be ineligible for employment by the United States or any department or agency thereof, for the five years next following his conviction.

Inasmuch as a total of 102 individuals have been successfully prosecuted under the provisions of this Act, there appears to be no valid reason for the Fund For The Republic to refer to the Communist Party, U.S.A. as a political party.

Who are some of the officials of the Fund For the Republic.

The Chairman of the Board of Directors Paul G. Hoffman, is quoted in the Communist Paper, the Daily Worker of May 15, 1956 as saying to a group of students at New York City College "the right to debate, the right to public assembly, the right to stand innocent until proved guilty, have been debased by a new form of ku klux klanism - by which a group of Americans, having no judicial status whatsoever, can set itself up to pass judgment on the loyalties of their fellow citizens.

This attitude by the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund for The

Republic toward the Loyalty and Security program of our government is clearly reflected in the activities of the Fund.

George H. Shuster, President of Hunter College, serves as Vice-Chairman of the Board of the Fund. The records of this House Committee on Un-American Activities indicate that Shuster was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress, an organization which was cited as subversive. He was also cited as a sponsor of the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, The Sciences, The Arts, The White Collar Fields. The House Committee on Un-American Activities stated that this organization, The New York Times of reported that "Dr. George Shuster, President of Hunter College, told the committee, (Board of Higher Education - Committee on Legislation and By Laws) that effective legislation against Communist Groups on campuses was impossible. He stated that as long as there was a Communist Party in the world there would be Communist students - - - It is better to have a Communist Group, called the American Youth for Democracy than a similar group hiding under an innocuous sounding name and conducting its activities sub-rosa.

In 1954 Dr. Shuster served as Chairman of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. The American Legion is on record before the House Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee in opposition to this continued functioning of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. I wish at this time to give to this Committee copies of our testimony and report on the subject of UNESCO.

Oscar Hammerstein II who is currently serving as a member of the Board of Directors of The Fund For the Republic has been affiliated with Peoples Songs Inc.; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; Hollywood Writers Mobilization.

Robert M. Hutchins is listed both as a member of the Board of Directors and as President of The Fund For The Republic.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago, was named as a member of the Commission for Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts,

Sciences and Professions in the September 13, 1948 issue (page 6) of the Communist newspaper, Daily Worker. He was listed as a sponsor of the conference held by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, in the leaflet "To Safeguard These Rights * * * *", which was published by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950, page 2.

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins testified before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, 1949 (Volume II, page 17 of the Commissions Report). "Hutchins turned the tide of the entire state with him as he declared before the Illinois Subversive Activities Commission (See Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 299):

"As is well known, there is a Communist Club among the students of the University (of Chicago). Eleven students belong to it. The Club has not sought to subvert the government of the state. Its members claim that they are interested in studying Communism, and some of them, perhaps all of them, may be sympathetic toward Communism. But the study of Communism is not a subversive activity."

The Daily People's World, west coast organ of the Communist Party, in its issue of April 17, 1950, page 2, reported the following:

Chancellor Robert Hutchins, former head of the University of Chicago, has informed the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill he has filed a statement with the House Committee on Un-American Activities denouncing the Mundt-Nixon Bill as a foolish, stupid and dangerous. The Hutchins statement follows:

"I should like to be recorded as among the numerous citizens of all political parties and all points of view who are united in believing that the Mundt-Nixon bill is foolish, stupid and dangerous. I hope that Congress will display its intelligence, and its faith in freedom and democracy by overwhelmingly defeating the measure."

On November 25, 1952, Dr. Hutchins appeared before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations (House of Representatives). The following is quoted from his testimony (pp 263-298 of the printed hearings):

The Chairman. * * * I had put in my hand some days ago a document which consisted of evidence taken by a select committee set up by the Legislature of Illinois investigating communism in certain schools, and in the body of that report I find testimony that you gave * * *

* * * * *

I quote from what purports to have been your testimony given in that investigation, and here you are quoted to have said * * *.

"The fact that some Communists belong to, believe in, or even dominate some of the organizations to which some of our professors belong does not show that these professors are engaged in subversive activities. All that such facts would show would be that these professors believe in some of the objects of the organization, and so forth."

* * * I am wondering if since 1949 your thinking has undergone any sort of a change as regards what we should do in an endeavor to combat the spread of this Communist ideology in our own country? * * *

Mr. Hutchins. * * * My testimony in this case was directed to the proposition that members of the faculty whom we knew, who had worked loyally for the university and for the country, many of whom had been cleared by Government agencies were not disqualified to be members of the faculty by reason of membership in this organization * * *

Some of the employees of the Fund are worth mentioning also. The New York Times of 11/8/55, page 34 carried the announcement that Robert M. Hutchins "defended the Fund's hiring of Amos Landman, a former newspaperman who worked the Fifth Amendment when asked by a Senate subcommittee last summer (1955)

if he had been a Communist. Dr. Hutchins said Mr. Landman had been qualified for a part-time temporary press relations job he held from July 28 until last Tuesday."

Professor Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, is a current Consultant to the Fund For The Republic. In 1934 Cushman was a Contributing Editor to the subversive periodical "New Theatre," which was the official organ of the League of Workers Theatres, "a Communist project." According to the testimony of Walter S. Steele before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938, Cushman was identified as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Moscow University Summer School. (See Report of The Fund For The Republic, May 11, 1955, page 36; HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1955, page 143; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 264).

CUSHMAN sponsored a reunion dance under the auspices of the New Theatre League on April 18, 1941. This organization has been cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. In 1949, he was listed as a sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, which was held in New York City under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Both organizations were labeled as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, pages 82, 90 and 101; and Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 264).

Elmer Davis who is also listed as a Consultant will be remembered as the wartime head of the Office of War Information.

On pages 16 and 17 of his book "But We Were Born Free", Mr. Davis made the following statement:

"Since the most conspicuous of recent encroachments of these freedoms had been the work of Congressional Committees, Congress might have been expected to respond to this gesture; and it did. The Honorable Brazilia Carroll Reece of East Tennessee proposed, and the House of Representatives adopted (though not without a fight), a resolution to appoint a committee to investigate the tax-exempt foundations to see if they are using their

money for Un-American or subversive purposes. They had already been investigated on that point a few months earlier, and all the big ones had been acquitted; but in Congressional jurisprudence no man (or institution) is ever acquitted. If a committee is weak enough to find him not guilty, you merely get another committee to try him again."

In the same book Mr. Davis continues to berate Congressional Committees and attack government witnesses. As an example of this he states on pages 37 and 49.

"American Schools and colleges, already under many local attacks, were further threatened in the winter of 1953 when all three of these committees announced their intentions to investigate them. They all promised to keep out of one another's way, but it was evident that they would have to go over pretty much the same material and the same people. The constitutional prohibition of double jeopardy couldn't stop them; that applies only to the courts. One committee after another can bring the same man before them and compel him to tell the same story over again - which offers the hopeful possibility that there may be discrepancies in his testimony so that you can indict him for perjury. Unless, of course, he happens to be one of the professional ex-Communist informers who seem to constitute a pool on which any Congressional Committee can draw. In that case, discrepancies in his testimony are disregarded."

Page 12 of the 1955 Report of The Fund For The Republic indicates that the fund has financed a study of the official records bearing on Communist activity

✓ "Since most of the pressure on civil liberties has resulted from fear of the Communists in America." The chairman of the Committee to undertake this study was Arthur E. Sutherland, a professor of law at Harvard University. The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicates that Sutherland not only has joined the American Civil Liberties Union in denouncing that Committee of Congress, but that he also was named as a member of the American League For Peace and Democracy which has been cited as a Communist Front by the U. S. Attorney General.

✓ Arthur Sutherland has since been replaced by Professor Joe Seidman of the University of Chicago, who has been affiliated with the Marxist League For Industrial Democracy, has been a writer for the Socialist Call, has himself been a candidate for Congress on the Socialist Party ticket, has been on the Board of "New Frontiers"; was active with the old Brookwood College and more recently with the Union for Democratic Action.

✓ The Staff Director of the Committee on the Study of the Communist Record is Charles E. Corker of Stanford University.

✓ Page 39 of the Report of The Fund For The Republic indicates that Helen M. Lynd, a professor of Social Philosophy at Sarah Lawrence College, is a member of its Committee on Study of Fear in Education. Helen M. Lynd has been affiliated with the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; League of American Writers; League of Women Shoppers; American League For Peace and Democracy; American Committee to Save Refugees; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace; Stockholm Peace Petition.

✓ Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party, U.S.A. has been employed by the Committee on The Study of Communist Influence in American Life. Browder, although expelled from the Communist Party, has never renounced Communism; has never cooperated in any way with U. S. governmental agencies or Congressional Investigating Committees. That he of all people should be employed by the Fund For The Republic is an affront to every patriotic American and is truly indicative of the Philosophy of the Fund For the Republic.

✓ Page 19 of the Report of the Fund For The Republic lists Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University and Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, as members of the Fund's Commission on Race and Housing. Gordon W. Allport has been affiliated with the National Emergency Conference; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; New Masses; Coordinating Committee To Lift The Embargo; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born.

✓ Charles S. Johnson has been affiliated with the World Youth Conference; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace.

✓ Page 16 of the 1955 Report of the Fund For The Republic states that "The Academic Freedom project of Columbia University has been given funds to make a pilot study in California, Illinois and Pennsylvania of the acquisition and termination of tenure in the higher institutions of these states. The Co-directors of the project will be Clark Byse, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania and Louis Joughin, Assistant Director of the American Civil Liberties Union." In addition, a press release of

The Fund For The Republic dated May 9, 1956, indicates that it was distributing the annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union. For these reasons it is well to consider the latter organization also.

The Treasurer of the American Civil Liberties Union is B. W. Heubach. The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicate that B. W. Heubach has been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Non-Partisan Committee For The Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. As late as 1950 he was listed as the sponsor of China Welfare Appeal, Inc.

Honorary Chairman of the ACLU is John Haynes Holmes, who has been affiliated with the Jewish Peoples Committee Against Fascism; ICCR; International Committee For Political Prisoners; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born.

Listed among the Vice Chairmen of the Board of Directors of the ACLU is Dorothy Kenyon, who has been affiliated with the League of Women Shoppers; Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Consumers National Federation; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain; Conference on Pan American Democracy.

Varian Fry, a member of the Board of Directors of the ACLU has been affiliated with National Peoples Committee Against Hearst of The American League Against War and Fascism; Joint Committee For the Defense of Brazilian People; Prestes Defense Committee.

✓ Walter F. Dellhorn, a member of the Board of Directors of the ACLU has been affiliated with Open Board; International Juridical Association;

Joint Committee For The Defense of the Brazilian People; Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain; National Emergency Conference; Workers School of The City of New York; National Lawyers Guild; National Wartime Conference of the Professions; The Sciences, The Arts, The White Collar Fields; Non-Partisan Committee For the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

John Paul Jones, a member of the Board of Directors of the ACLU has been affiliated with the Medical Bureau; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Consumers National Federation; Coordinating Committee To Lift The Embargo; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; International Labor Defense; League for Mutual Aid; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Peoples Institute of Applied Religion; Second World Peace Congress 1950; Mid-Century Conference For Peace; Methodist Federation for Social Service; Committee of One Thousand.

Elmer Rice, a member of the Board of Directors of the ACLU has been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; American League For Peace and Democracy; Film and Photo League; Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance; League of American Voters; National Committee Against Censorship of the Theatre Arts; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.; American Round Table on India; National Institution of Arts and Letters.

Pearl S. Luck, listed among the Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the ACLU has been affiliated with the Coordinating Committee To Lift The Embargo; International Committee on African Affairs; Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo;

American Council; Institute of Pacific Relations.

Albert Sprague Coolidge is listed among the Vice-chairmen of the National Committee of the ACLU. The Washington D. C. Post and Times Herald of February 2, 1956 reported that the Library of Congress had withdrawn an invitation it tendered to Albert Sprague Coolidge to become a member of the committee of three governing the Coolidge Foundation of the Library of Congress because of a list of the Harvard chemistry professor's past associations.

Prior to his appointment an investigation was required because the Post carried a stipend. Late in the summer of 1955, the FBI made its check and turned the information over to the Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford. Acting jointly with the Music Division Chief, Harold Spivacks, Mumford decided that membership in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy - cited by the Attorney General's office as subversive - and his signature on a petition for commutation of the sentence of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in this country made questionable the appropriateness as to the appointment for employment.

Coolidge who described himself as a "staunch believer in democracy, liberalism and civil rights" made no apology for his membership in the organizations cited and added that he only recently signed a petition for the communists sentenced as violators of the Smith Act.

Frank P. Graham, listed among the Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American League For Peace and Democracy; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Committee For a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression; Coordinating Committee To Lift the

Embargo; Council of Young Southerners; National Committee To Abolish the Poll Tax; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; China Aid Council.

Lillian E. Smith, listed among the Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization; Emergency Peace Mobilization; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Van Wyck Brooks, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Progressive Citizens of America; United American-Spanish Aid Committee; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; American League For Peace and Democracy; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; American Committee For Spanish Freedom.

Dr. Rufus Clement, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee To Save Refugees; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Progressive Citizens of America; National Conference on American Policy in China and The Far East; Scientific and Cultural Conference to World Peace; Civil Rights Congress; Independent Citizens Committee of The Arts, Sciences and Professions.

George S. Counts, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Friends of the Chinese People; American League Against War and Fascism; American Student Union; Coordinating Committee to Lift The Embargo; Council For Pan American Democracy; National Committee Against Censorship of Theatre Arts; National Committee For Defense

of Political Prisoners; New York Tom Mooney Committee;

Professor Robert E. Cushman, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been previously reported as a Consultant to the Fund For The Republic.

Dr. Frederick May Eliot, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Protection of The Foreign Born; American Council On Soviet Relations; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Coordinating Committee To Lift The Embargo; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Congress of American-Soviet Friendship.

James Lawrence Fly, who is listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU is the same individual who when head of the Federal Communications Commission during World War II, refused for two years to turn over to the FBI fingerprint records of 215,000 radio operators and other communication workers. The Washington Post for January 7, 1950, page 9 carried a long letter by James Lawrence Fly condemning the FBI for wire-tapping in the Judith Coplin case. The Daily Worker for May 3, 1950, page 4, carried a picture of Fly and a review of his article which had previously appeared in the Harvard Law Review condemning wiretapping by the FBI. The Washington Post of June 29, 1950, page 5, reported that James Lawrence Fly, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, had filed a brief with Federal Judge Albert L. Reeves of Kansas City who presided at the Coplin trial, as a friend of the court, supporting Judith Coplin's motion for a new trial on the grounds that the FBI had tapped her telephone.

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, is also the President of the Fund For The Republic.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been identified above as a member of the Commission on Housing and Race Relations of the Fund For The Republic.

Max Lerner, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU has been affiliated with the Allied Voters Against Coudert; American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Investors Union; American League For Peace and Democracy; American Student Union; Citizens Committee For Harry Bridges; Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; Council for Pan American Democracy.

Professor Robert S. Lynd, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; American Investors Union; Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression; League of American Writers; American-Russian Institute; American Youth for Democracy; Jefferson School of Social Science; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace; Committee of One Thousand.

Archibald Macleish, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the American Friends of Spanish Democracy; American Youth Congress; Coordinating Committee to Lift The Embargo; Frontier Films; Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Motion Picture Artists Committee; League of American Writers; National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, was denied a security clearance reinstatement by the United States Atomic Energy Commission's Special Personnel Security Board. Their reasons were:

- "1. We find that Dr. Oppenheimer's continuing conduct

and associations have reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system.

- "2. We have found a susceptibility to influence which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country.
- "3. We find his conduct in the hydrogen bomb program sufficiently disturbing as to raise a doubt as to whether his future participation, if characterized by the same attitudes in a Government program relating to the National Defense would be clearly consistent with the best interests of security.
- "4. We have regretfully concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer has been less than candid in several instances in his testimony before this board."

James G. Patton, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the National Committee To Abolish The Poll Tax; Civil Rights Congress; American-Slav Congress; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Union of Coordinated Peace Efforts.

Aubrey Williams, listed as a member of the National Committee of the ACLU has been affiliated with the American Youth Congress; Workers Alliance; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Washington Committee For Democratic Action; Progressive Citizens of America; Civil Rights Congress; Committee For Peaceful Alternative to The Atlantic Pact; Stockholm Peace Appeal; Mid-Century Conference For World Peace.

Roger W. Baldwin, listed as International Work Adviser, as well as member of the National Committee of the ACLU, has been affiliated with the All American Anti-Imperialist League; American Friends of Spanish Democracy;

American League For Peace and Democracy; American Committee For Struggle Against War; American League Against War and Fascism; American Student Union; Book Union, Inc.; Friends of the Soviet Union; Garland Fund; National Committee To Abolish The Poll Tax; National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism; New York Tom Mooney Committee; International Labor Defense.

Osmond Frankel, listed as General Counsel for the ACLU has been affiliated with the American Student Union; Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder; Coordinating Committee To Lift The Embargo; Film Audiences For Democracy; Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; School for Democracy; Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain; National Committee for People's Rights; National Emergency Conference; National Lawyers Guild.

Freedom Agenda, latest project of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund Inc., is alleged to be an educational program designed to "increase understanding and appreciation of the role that individual freedom plays in our system of constitutional democracy and representative government." On the other hand, the Freedom Agenda Committee "seeks the active cooperation of national organizations and their local units; welcomes the participation of cooperating organizations in an advisory capacity; encourages the organization of discussion groups in the community; and prepares material for individual and group use."

The primary objective of the Freedom Agenda Program "is to stimulate the formation of local committees which will organize discussion groups on individual liberty. The discussion group pattern is suggested as the best method of helping participants develop their own independent thinking."

The American Legion has no quarrel with the League of Women Voters or any group which is honestly and sincerely engaged in the study of our Constitution. We do feel that the teaching materials used should be as objective as possible.

During 1954 and 1955, the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. published the following Freedom Agenda Pamphlets for the purpose of providing "basic information on current issues which touch upon individual liberty": "How To Organize A Freedom Agenda Project"; "The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties" by T. V. Smith; "Where Constitutional Liberty Came From" by Alfred H. Kelly; "Freedom of Speech and Press" by Zechariah Chafee, Jr.; "Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity" by Jack Peltason; "The Constitution and Congressional Investigating Committees" by Robert K. Carr; and "The Constitution and Loyalty Programs" by Alan Westin.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., a Harvard University Professor and author of Freedom Agenda Pamphlet "Freedom of Speech and Press", signed a statement in 1933 urging United States recognition of the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In 1940, Chafee signed a statement to

the President of the United States on behalf of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The following year he signed a statement defending the Communist Party.

He was affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder and signed a statement opposing the renewal of the Special Committee On Un-American Activities in 1943, on behalf of the subversive National Federation For Constitutional Liberties. Chafee also signed a petition on behalf of the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, a now defunct Communist front which defended Communist teachers.

In 1950, Chafee sent a prepared statement to the House Committee on Un-American Activities during hearings on legislation to outlaw Un-American and subversive activities, declaring his opposition to the Subversive Activities Control Act (H.R. 7595 and H.R. 3903). The same year he sponsored the subversive National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill and signed an Open Letter on behalf of the National Committee to Repeal The McCarran Act.

Freedom Agenda Program also suggests three books for further reading written by Chafee entitled "New Human Rights Got Into The Constitution", "Free Speech In The United States" and "Documents On Fundamental Human Rights" in 3 volumes.

Each Freedom Agenda Pamphlet contains a selection of recommended books and pamphlets for further reading. An examination of these references discloses the following names of authors: Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Henry Steele Commager, Thomas I. Emerson, Walter Gellhorn, David Haber, Howard Mumford Jones and Alexander Meiklejohn.

Henry Steele Commager was a member of the Committee of Welcome for the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, when Johnson was originally invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in 1948.

COMMAGER stated the following year that "we are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more reckless, more pervasive, and

ultimately more dangerous than any in our history... The hue and cry goes on without regard to the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation..." Cossager is a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

THOMAS I. EMERSON, professor at Yale Law School and a current member of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was identified as a member of the Communist Party before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organization in 1952. Emerson has been affiliated with the International Juridical Association, National Lawyers Guild, Jefferson School of Social Sciences, National Committee to Repeal the Mundt Bill and the Progressive Citizens of America.

Emerson signed an Open Letter to all Congressional Candidates in 1950 asking for repeal of the McCarran Act, under the auspices of the National Committee To Repeal The McCarran Act. A sponsor of Live and Let Live, Emerson has also sponsored the Hiroshima Commemorative Committee, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, and was listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

HALTER GELLHORN, Professor of the School of Law, Columbia University, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Louis F. Budenz before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations on December 23, 1952. Gellhorn was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

DAVID HABER, a sponsor of the subversive China Welfare Appeal, Inc. in 1950, was listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions the following year. He is currently a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and sponsored the W. E. B. DuBois sponsoring Committee in 1951. The year before, he sponsored the Mid-Century Conference for Peace and signed a state-

ment on behalf of the Executive Committee of the New Haven Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union urging clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES has been a sponsor of the National Committee To Combat Anti-Semitism, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. and the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Jones also sponsored the Committee of One Thousand in 1948 and the Progressive Citizens of America the year before. A 1954 contributor to "The Nation" magazine, Jones was listed as an Initiator and Sponsor of the National Committee To Repeal the McCarran Act in 1951.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, a 1955 National Committee member of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born in 1951 and signed an appeal to the President to grant amnesty for Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act under the auspices of the subversive National Committee To Win Amnesty For The Smith Act Victims. Meiklejohn was affiliated with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in 1951, and was listed as a participant of a Two-Day Conference and Forum held by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1953.

The Fund for the Republic has indicated on page 27 of its 1955 Report that it has granted \$240,000 to an organization known as the Southern Regional Council. The latter organization appears to us to be directly related to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which has been declared to be subversive by this Committee and the U. S. Attorney General. It is a matter of public record that thirty-four of the top officials of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. They are:

Will W. ALEXANDER, R. B. ATWOOD, Dr. Charlotte H. BROWN, Louis BURNHAM, Paul R. CHRISTOPHER, George E. CLARY, Rufus E. CLEMENT, Donald COMER, Herbert M. DAVIDSON, A. W. DENT, J. M. ELLISON, Clark FOREMAN, Mrs. Grace T. HAMILTON, Philip HAMMER, Charles S. JOHNSON, David JONES, Lucy Randolph MASON, Benjamin E. MAYS, George S. MITCHELL, Howard K. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, E. A. PENICK, E. C. PETERS, Glenn W. RAINEY, Homer P. RAINEY, Ira De A. REID, Frank W.

SPENCER, MC KENZIE, B. Forrester WASHINGTON, Josephine DILKINS, Aubrey WILLIAMS, Marion WRIGHT, R. R. WRIGHT, Jr., and P. B. YOUNG, Sr.

PROFESSOR R. B. ATWOOD, of Kentucky State College, listed as an official of the Southern Regional Council has been affiliated with the National Negro Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Civil Rights Congress; Negro Peoples Committee To Aid Spanish Emergency.

STANLEY R. GRAY, listed as an official of the Southern Regional Council has been affiliated with Far East Spotlight; American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; Conference For Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; World Peace Appeal; Bill of Rights Conference.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, an official of the Southern Regional Council has been affiliated with the American Youth For Democracy; Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy; National Committee To Win The Peace; Congress of American Women; Women's International Democratic Federation; Council on African Affairs; Civil Rights Congress; National Council of American Soviet Friendship; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; National Negro Congress; Southern Negro Youth Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; World Congress For Peace; Schappes Defense Committee; International Workers Order, American Peace Crusade; American Women For Peace; Mid-Century Conference For Peace; Committee For Peaceful Alternatives To The Atlantic Pact, World Peace Appeal.

LOUIS E. HURNHAM, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Southern Negro Youth Congress; National Negro Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; George Washington Carver School; Washington Peace Mobilization; American Student Union; American Youth Congress; American Youth For Democracy; Civil Rights Congress; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; Peoples Institute of Applied Religion; American Labor Party, Council on African Affairs; Jefferson School of Social Science; California Labor School; Labor Youth League; Masses and Mainstream; United May Day Provisional Committee.

RUFUS E. CLEMENT, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; American Committee For Protection of the Foreign Born; American Council on Soviet Relations; Civil Rights Congress; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Committee For a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Southern Negro Youth Congress.

CLARK FOREMAN, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Southern Conference For Human Welfare; American Slav Congress; Civil Rights Congress; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Win The Peace Conference; National Committee To Win The Peace; Committee For Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; American Continental Congress For Peace.

LUTHER P. JACKSON of Petersburg, Virginia, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress; Jefferson School of Social Science; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and has signed a statement which appeared in the Daily Worker of November 22, 1948 on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a convicted Communist.

DR. D. V. JEMISON, of Selma, Alabama, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Mid-Century Conference for Peace; World Peace Appeal; Southern Negro Youth Congress; Civil Rights Congress.

DR. DAVID D. JONES, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Council on African Affairs; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Civil Rights Congress.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Southern Negro Youth Congress; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Scientific and Cultural Conference

For World Peace; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born; Civil Rights Congress; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Southern Negro Youth Congress.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS PATTERSON, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Southern Negro Youth Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; National Negro Congress.

E. C. PETERS, President of Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the American Council on Soviet Relations; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Federation For Constitutional Liberties; Southern Conference For Human Welfare, Mid-Century Conference For Peace.

HOMER P. RAINEY, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the American Youth Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; World Youth Congress.

DR. IRA DE A REID, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born; Council on African Affairs; Southern Conference For Human Welfare; Southern Negro Youth Congress; United States Congress Against War; Jefferson School of Social Science; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with Social Work Today; National Negro Congress; Southern Negro Youth Congress; Southern Conference For Human Welfare.

AUBREY WILLIAMS, an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Youth Congress; Masses and Mainstream; World Peace Appeal; Association of Internes and Medical Students; Conference on Peaceful Alternatives To the Atlantic Pact.

BISHOP R. R. WRIGHT, JR., an official of the Southern Regional Council, has been affiliated with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Committee For Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact; Mid-Century Conference For Peace; Council on African Affairs; Civil Rights Congress; Win the Peace Conference.

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Grants have been made by the Fund For The Republic in support of certain individuals having records of subversive affiliation.

Walter Gellhorn was listed as the recipient of \$5,000 to assist in the preparation of the Douglas Edward White lectures to be delivered at Louisiana State University. Gellhorn who was previously mentioned as a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union has been affiliated with numerous organizations cited as Communist or subversive.

Robert Cushman, whose record of subversive affiliation was given when he was previously mentioned as a Consultant to the Fund, is also cited on page 28 of the 1955 Report of the Fund as the recipient of a grant of \$3,000 for completion of a book entitled "National Security and American Traditions."

In a hearing before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on May 21, 1953, Herbert Philbrick identified one Mary Knowles as Secretary of the Samuel Adams School in Boston which was controlled by the Communist Party. Subsequent to this accusation Mrs. Knowles was brought before the same committee and was afforded the opportunity under oath to deny Philbrick's testimony. When asked "are you a member of the Communist Party?" and "have you attended all meetings of the Communist Party in Boston with Herbert Philbrick?" Mrs. Knowles refused to answer on grounds of self incrimination.

As the result of pleading the Fifth Amendment, Mrs. Knowles lost her job as a librarian in Norwood, Massachusetts. Later she was employed by the William Jeans Memorial Library, owned and operated by the Quaker Monthly Meeting, in Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania. This action was vigorously opposed by many patriotic elements of that community including The American Legion.

In light of this situation the Fund For The Republic announced a special \$5,000 award to the Quaker Monthly Meeting for "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles, in refusing to fire Mrs. Knowles."

On April 9, 1956 Proceedings Against Mary Knowles for Contempt of the Senate were instituted.

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An examination of the books, articles and other materials distributed by the Fund for the Republic indicates that they all have as their major objective the discrediting of any activity on the part of the United States Government to deal effectively with problems of internal subversion.

The Fund for the Republic has, according to its own brochure, distributed copies of the publication "Banned Books" written by Anne Lyon Waight, to various librarians and library trustees.

Twenty-five thousand copies of the special issue of the "Bulletin of Atomic Scientists", which dealt specifically with loyalty and security, were distributed by the Fund for the Republic. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists was founded in 1945 by Hyman H. Goldsmith and Eugene Rabinovitch. This monthly magazine, which is published by the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, Inc. of 5734 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is purportedly devoted to science and public affairs. The current sponsors of the "Bulletin of Atomic Scientists" are J. Robert Oppenheimer, Harold C. Urey, Edward U. Condon, and Linus Pauling. This is the same J. Robert Oppenheimer previously mentioned as a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Harold C. Urey has been affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; League of American Writers; American Committee to Save Refugees; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; National Emergency Conference; Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

EDWARD U. CONDON, the third sponsor of the "Bulletin of Atomic Scientists" was praised by Harold C. Urey in the February 1955 issue of that publication, as Urey stated "there is no more honest and reliable citizen in the United States than Edward U. Condon". This is in direct contradiction to an official statement of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948. The Committee stated that "from the evidence at hand, it appears that Dr. Condon is one of the weakest links in our atomic security... During the course of its investigations to ascertain the extent and success of Soviet espionage activities relating to the atom bomb, the Committee was amazed at the numerous instances in which it was disclosed that Dr. Condon was acquainted with known and suspected espionage agents." The security clearance of Dr. Condon has been revoked.

Dr. LINUS PAULING, the remaining sponsor of the "Bulletin of The Atomic Scientists, is no stranger to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has been affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Profession; Win the Peace Conference; Progressive Citizens of America; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace. Louis Budenz, during the course of his testimony before the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations and Comparable Organizations in 1952, identified Dr. Pauling as an individual whom Budenz was "officially advised a number of times in the middle forties" was a member of the Communist Party under discipline". Budenz further testified that Communist leaders expressed the highest admiration and confidence in Dr. Pauling. The House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 stated that Pauling's "whole record indicates that he is primarily engrossed in placing his scientific attainments at the service of a host of organizations which have in common their complete subservience to the Communist Party, U. S. A. and the Soviet Union. Professor Pauling has not deviated a hair's breadth from this pattern of loyalty to the Communist cause since 1946."

On page 109 of the issue of "BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS" which was distributed by the Fund--Edward Shils had this to say in an article entitled "Security and Science Sacrificed to Loyalty":

"Much of what is called disloyalty or doubtful loyalty is called such because it is not hyperpatriotism, even though it is very far from a propensity to treason. Even though unpleasant, doubtful loyalty is not bound to be harmful to the body politic. As Professor Aron emphasizes, our government should protect itself from subversion and from espionage, but there is no need for it to worry about the loyalty of its citizens. If it does, it cannot easily or rationally justify that worry as having a direct and realistic connection with security.

"The pattern of loyalty in a free society is very complex and multidirectional. It is the nature of the free society that maximal loyalty is never to be given completely to any institution or relationship nor need it be given unqualifiedly to the whole society, except in periods of great crisis or of great conflict. Exceptional demands may be temporarily made, but we are not at war now, nor is the crisis of such depth and danger that maximal loyalty or hyperpatriotism must be demanded of everyone.

"That the same standards of clearance should be used for the recipients of government grants for work on unclassified subjects in university laboratories and for persons who are to work on military projects can be motivated only by sheer, almost pathological ignorance of what constitutes a threat to the national military security."

on page 112 of the same issue of the "BULLETIN of the ATOMIC SCIENTISTS"
Raymond Aron had this to say:

More generally, it is indispensable that members of Congress and those ordinary citizens who have been alarmed, should see the problem of 'infiltration' and 'boring from within' by communist cells in a more realistic perspective. It is important not to be preoccupied with events of twenty years ago and the past errors of men who have never ceased to be loyal. It is necessary to recognize that the presence of Communists can be inconsequential in many private activities. Distrust must be combatted with the same energy as treason. If these can be done, the atmosphere will be somewhat more wholesome and safer for the American people and their government."

The book "The Fifth Amendment Today" which was distributed by the Fund For The Republic is referred to at the bottom of page 6 of the Supreme Court decision in the Harry Slochower case which dealt with the Fifth Amendment. The attitude of Dr. Griswold toward Congressional investigations is clearly stated on pages 62 and 63 of his text as follows;

"When we come to legislative investigations, however we have a wholly different situation. Here, nearly every safeguard which has been developed over the centuries by our courts is thrown out the window. We are told that a legislative committee is not a court, and that court rules do not apply. We are told too that a committee or sub-committee is only conducting an investigation, not a trial, and that Congress or a legislature would be severely hampered in its law-making function if it were bound by cumbersome court rules. The situation is surely different. Indeed, experience has taught us that the risks are very great in legislative investigations, which might suggest that this was a place where even greater safeguards should be imposed. at any rate, none of the reasons given would seem to be an adequate ground for not recognizing that the rights of the individual, established after so long a struggle, are just as precious before a legislative body as they are in court."

The book "THE FEARS MEN LIVE BY" written by (Selma Hirsh) was also distributed by the Fund for the Republic.

On page 94 it was stated "These later studies also report that former Communists rarely seem to change in personality as a result of their experience with communism. Those who were ruthless, or bitter, or timid, or anxious to dodge the difficult task of making their own decisions, seem to remain that way. So do those who were gentle or thoughtful or anxious or unhappy. Some seek out other causes in which to lose themselves.

"Some, in a frenzied effort to regain both faith and face, assume the role of super-patriot and play it with the same feverish intensity that characterized their earlier performance as an anti-patriot. Once they believed that all who refused to betray their country were either dupes of the capitalists or incredibly naive. Now they believe that all who refuse to join them in their denunciations or who disagree with them in any way are either dupes of the Communists, or incredibly naive.

"But even in their new role of super-patriot they continue to think of their citizen responsibilities in strictly lethal terms; they must attack and expose, not themselves but others who once were caught up by the Communist fever. Moreover, by showing how strong and influential that movement once was they hope to make more palatable to themselves and to everyone else their own earlier surrender to it. They are, however, repudiating only the cause to which they once surrendered; they do not - because they cannot - question the surrender itself. For the same need overpowers them still, the need for 'selfless' dedication to something they can believe in unquestionably.

Only by burying themselves are these super-patriots (formerly anti-patriots) able to bury their fears."

This same book on page 100 stated

"The super-patriot may come from the province of today's reactionaries or yesterday's revolutionaries. The anti-patriot may come from the ranks of the revolutionaries - yesterday's or today's. Whatever the province from which they currently speak, they are understandably eager for recruits from other provinces and they are marvellously indifferent to the labels their followers attach to themselves. they receive with equal joy those who call themselves conservatives, those who call themselves liberals, and those who are too confused or too frightened to call themselves anything at all.

"The recruits, for their part, can be equally indifferent to the loyalties they profess, for once they have joined the ranks of the authoritarians it is of little consequence in which regiments they march. Their leaders are of one mind and their separate efforts - should that continue unimpeded - can have but a single result; the establishment in these United States of a government of the fearful, by the fearful, and for the fearful."

Another book distributed by the Fund For The Republic was "CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE UNITED STATES", written by (Robert E. Cushman)

On page 197 of the Cushman stated "The files assembled by legislative investigating committees are official government records. They are the property of the government, to be used in the official work of the committee or other agencies of the government. These files contain information about thousands of individuals, some of it reliable, some of it admittedly unsifted and therefore unreliable. The House Committee on Un-American Activities from time to time allowed access to its files, or released information from its files, to persons not connected with the government. Some of these persons were private or commercial Communist-hunters, newspapermen, or radio broadcasters. Such bootlegging of the contents of official, confidential documents inflicts a serious injustice upon those whose names are thus improperly released to outsiders. In the light of this evidence of committee irresponsibility one can understand the adamant opposition of the President, the Attorney General, and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover to demands that FBI records be turned over to congressional committees."

And on page 199 "It was probably inescapable that our program for combatting communism and subversions should have fallen into the hands of politicians, or into the hands of men who must work under the domination of politicians. Basic policies affecting the national security must naturally be established

by Congress. But the task of "punitive exposure" of subversives assumed by our congressional investigating committees is a very different matter. To place the reputations and livelihood of persons accused or suspected of disloyalty in the hands of men whose political fortunes are directly enhanced by the number of persons thus "exposed" as disloyal is to violate basic principles of fair play.

"That political ambitions have heavily influenced important phases of our campaign to protect our national security is not open to question. For some years the hunting down and exposing of Communists and subversives has been the most profitable activity, politically, in which a congressman can engage. It is reported that when, in 1953, the Eighty-Third Congress was organized, 135 of 221 Republican members of the House of Representatives applied for membership on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Such membership offered the best chance of getting into the political limelight and staying there."

The book "GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION" written by Alan Barth was also distributed by the Fund. On page 23 of this book Barth stated - "Congress does not need to expose individuals in order to expose the dimensions of the Communist problem. To compel men to confess beliefs and associations which will subject them to odium neither serves any legitimate congressional purpose nor comports with the American tradition of respect for privacy, heterodoxy, and conscience. This kind of investigation by an official government body can have no other purpose than to compel conformity, and no other consequence than to inhibit independence of thought and expression. The punishment of men for beliefs and associations must be no less repugnant to the Constitution of the United States when it is done by congressional investigation than when it is done by congressional legislation."

On page 93 Barth further stated - "When the grand jury of 1947 failed

to indict a single one of the thirty-odd government employees or former government employees accused of espionage by Elizabeth Bentley, a frequent witness before investigating committees and an undercover informant for the FBI, the House Committee on Un-American Activities undertook to punish by publicity presumed offenses which could not be punished by due process of law. The pretext on which the committee took jurisdiction in this matter was that it desired to investigate the broad general problem of espionage in the government with a view to recommending remedial legislation. But its conduct was not altogether dissimilar to that of a posse, which, convict someone it suspects of having committed rape, decides to take the law into its own hands and administer a punishment it believes to be deserved. By the time the Jenner Subcommittee undertook to "retry" these cases in 1953, the pretext of investigating wartime espionage had become pretty diaphanous - so diaphanous, indeed, as to reveal the naked outlines of a partisan political purpose."

On page 117 Barth also stated: "Any witness before a congressional investigating committee who denies Communist affiliation or sympathies runs a real risk of having to defend himself against a perjury charge, and the defense may be exceedingly difficult. Some of the investigating committees turn readily, and with unreserved credulity, to one or another of an always available stable of ex-Communist professional witnesses, prepared at a moment's notice to remember anything about anybody at any time, no matter how remote in the past. Some of these witnesses possess reservoirs of recollection which, like the miraculous pitcher of Baucis and Philemon, seem to replenish themselves whenever a congressional interrogator finds himself thirsty for new headlines.

"It is, besides, a curiosity of recent congressional investigations that the ex-Communists seem always to make their accusations with impunity.

while those who dare to contradict them are called upon to vindicate themselves. Such contradiction is especially hazardous in the case of persons who may have had left-wing associations or expressed left-wing opinions without ever having been members of the Communist Party. If a man long ago joined organizations which subsequently came to be called Communist fronts, if he voiced criticism of the FBI or the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he favored racial equality or questioned the ability of Chiang Kai-shek to invade and conquer the mainland of China, it is altogether beyond comprehension, however foolish it may seem, that he should hesitate to deny under oath the accusation of an ex-Communist that he was once a party member or a party sympathizer. If the denial should result in a perjury indictment, the scales of justice, given the present slant of public opinion, might seem heavily weighted against him. Sometimes, in such a situation, innocent men choose the privilege against self-incrimination in order to escape the expense and hazard and notoriety of a perjury trial."

The Fund For The Republic has distributed copies of August 20, 1955 issue of "THE SATURDAY REVIEW" calling particular attention to the article "The Way to be Safe Is Never to be Secure." Its author, Charles P. Curtis, states on page 31 of the publication: "I don't know much more about our security system than you do. Some of you may be among those who know it at first hand, immediately. No one but those who have been in it, or put through it, have stood face to face with the truth of it. All I know is at second hand from these abstracts of these cases and from what I have read in the Oppenheimer case. You are well or better able to answer the questions I am going to try to answer. What is the matter? What is to be done about it?"

"The charges, you say, are too general and vague. They ought to be specific. I agree. In some cases they have been no more than statements of the law - I mean the Executive Order - and a summons to confess. The inquiry goes beyond the inquisitorial into the confessional, and I can think of no worse confessional than a suspicious security review board. But you will agree that such an inquiry cannot be just a trial of past facts and past conduct. It is an inquiry into a man's future conduct, and such an inquiry leads, with a terrible logic, into an inquiry of the whole man or the whole woman.

"It is hard to say what is not logically revelant to such an inquiry. The limits are set by decency and tradition. A compelled confession demoralizes the confessor and degrades the confessed. It shifts not only the burden of proof, but the burden of making the charge, from the Government, where we have been brought up to believe these burdens belong, to the employee."

The Fund For The Republic has distributed copies of an article entitled "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt" which was originally published in The American Scholar, Vol. 24, No. 1 Winter 1954-55. Its author, Richard Hofstadter, stated on page 24 of his article: "Both the displaced old-American type and the new ethnic elements that are so desperately eager for reassurance of

their fundamental Americanism can conveniently converge upon liberals, critics, and nonconformists of various sorts, as well as Communists and suspected Communists. To proclaim themselves vigilant in the pursuit of those who are even so much as accused of 'disloyalty' to the United States is a way not only of reasserting but of advertising their own loyalty - and one of the chief characteristics of American super-patriotism is its constant inner urge toward self-advertisement. One notable quality in this new wave of conformism is that its advocates are much happier to have as their objects of hatred the Anglo-Saxon, Eastern, Ivy League intellectual gentlemen than they are with such bedraggled souls as, say, the Rosenbergs. The reason, I believe, is that in the minds of the statue-driven it is no special virtue to be more American than the Rosebnergs, but it is really something to be more American than Dean Acheson or John Foster Dulles - or Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

In conclusion Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, we of the American Legion wish to express our confidence in the work which you are doing. We have supported this Committee since its inception. Therefore, we are confident that your investigation of the Fund For The Republic will substantiate the charges which have been made here today.

The Fund For The Republic has supported organizations known to be controlled by individuals affiliated with subversive groups. It has likewise supported individuals who have subversive affiliations.

In its efforts to destroy our Loyalty-Security Program the Fund For The Republic has distributed many kinds of propaganda material, some of which I have described to you.

The attack which the Fund For The Republic has made against Congressional Investigating Committees, the enforcement of our Loyalty-Security and
and
Program, the use of government witnesses cannot go unchallenged.

We of The American Legion pledge our continued support to this Committee and to all other agencies of the Government who are defending our Loyalty-Security Program against this attack.